

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-20 ACDA-12 IO-14 DOE-15 SOE-02 EB-08  
TRSE-00 /151 W

-----010053 200439Z /62

R 171219Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1655  
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
CINCPAC  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMCONSUL MADRAS  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USLO PEKING

UNCLAS NEW DELHI 7769

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PEPR IN  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECH

1. FOREIGN MINISTER VAJPAYEE GAVE WHAT HAS BEEN  
BILLED AS A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS MAY 13 AT A  
SEMINAR AT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY. VAJPAYEE STRESSED THE USUAL  
THEMES IN INDIA'S POLICY OF GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT AND  
BENEFICIAL BILATERALISM. HIS COMMENTS ON KEY ISSUES  
FOLLOW:

2. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND NON-PROLIFERATION: VAJPAYEE  
SAID: " THE ONLY WAY TO PREVENT PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR  
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WEAPONS IS TO BRING ABOUT A COMPLETE CESSATION OF THE  
PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SIMULTANEOUSLY CUT  
OFF THE MANUFACTURE OF ALL WEAPON GRADE FISSIONABLE  
MATERIAL. ALL NUCLEAR ESTABLISHMENT WOULD THEN  
AUTOMATICALLY BECOME PEACEFUL.

IF THE NUCLEAR WEAPON POWERS WERE TO AGREE TO

PROHIBIT ALL NUCLEAR TESTING, UNDERTAKE TO REDUCE AND ULTIMATELY ELIMINATE THEIR STOCKPILES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEN THE PROBLEM REGARDING THE DISCRIMINATORY APPLICATION OF SAFEGUARDS WOULD BECOME REDUNDANT. IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AGREEMENT IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO EXPECT INDIA TO ACCEPT ANY SAFEGUARDS WHICH ARE DISCRIMINATORY AND WHICH INHIBIT ITS PEACEFUL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT ABOUT INDIA'S POLICY. WE HAVE SET AN EXAMPLE BY ABJURING THE MANUFACTURE OR ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE HAVE PLEDGED OURSELVES TO DEVELOPING NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY EXCLUSIVELY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. IT IS, THEREFORE, INCREDIBLE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND CONTINUE TO ADD TO THE STOCKPILES OF THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, SHOULD CONSIDER IT MORALLY BINDING TO ASK INDIA TO ACCEPT CONSTRAINTS ON ITS NUCLEAR ENERGY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM WHICH IS PURELY PEACEFUL.

WE INTEND TO ADHERE FIRMLY TO THIS POLICY UNPERTURBED BY ANY PRESSURES THAT SOME MAY FEEL TEMPTED TO EXERT IN ANY FORM OR ANOTHER."

3. DISARMAMENT. VAJPAYEE WANTED TO CORRECT THE IMPRESSION THAT INDIA WAS LUKEWARM TOWARD UNIVERSAL UNCLASSIFIED

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AND TOTAL DISARMAMENT BECAUSE IT HAD NOT TAKEN ANY INITIATIVES IN THE SEVENTIES. INDIA ADVOCATED AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS "ON A SERIES OF CONCRETE DISARMAMENT MEASURES, IN BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, WITH A PROGRAM OF IMPLEMENTATION IN A GIVEN TIME FRAME AND WITH A MACHINERY TO IMPLEMENT THEM." VAJPAYEE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE GREAT POWERS WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO CONDUCT DISARMAMENT TALKS, ESPECIALLY IN THE SPHERE OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS "IN THE OPEN WITH US", THE BURDEN OF DISARMAMENT MUST NOT BE LEFT TO THE JUDGMENT AND WISDOM OF THE GREAT POWERS ALONE. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE GREAT POWERS REALIZE THE TERRIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF WAR BUT ARE ALSO AWARE OF ITS LUCRATIVE NATURE SO LONG AS IT DOES NOT INVOLVE OR HURT THEM AND THEY ARE READY TO DASH IN ORDER TO MAKE HANDSOME PROFITS WHEN THE POORER, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FIGHT AMONG THEMSELVES.

4. THE NAM AND FOREIGN PRESENCE. VAJPAYEE SAID "THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN ARMED PERSONNEL IN LARGE NUMBERS ON THE TERRITORY OF A NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY FOR LONG PERIODS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THESE ARE NO LONGER

NEEDED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION,  
IS LIKELY TO CAUSE ANXIETY IN THE MINDS OF OTHER  
NON ALIGNED NATIONS."

5. RELATIONS WITH THE US. VAJPAYEE REFERRED TO THE  
NEW RAPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF  
THE TWO COUNTRIES INAUGURATED BY PRESIDENT CARTERS  
VISIT, AND SAID THAT INDO-US RELATIONS ARE "NOW  
MARKED BY A SENSE OF EQUALITY THAT HAD ELUDED US  
BEFORE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR  
RELATIONS, A HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE WAS CARRIED OUT  
WITHOUT THE INHIBITING THEME OF AID OR ECONOMIC  
ASSISTANCE FEATURING EVEN ONCE DURING THE DISCUSSIONS.  
THE TRADITIONAL IMAGE OF A DONOR-RECIPIENT  
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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE USA AND INDIA HAS BEEN REPLACED  
BY AN EQUAL PARTNERSHIP BASED ON FRIENDSHIP AND A  
COMMON WILL TO COOPERATE BOTH IN BILATERAL  
MATTERS AND ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES." REFERRING TO  
THE BILATERAL PROBLEMS THAT DO EXIST, VAJPAYEE SAID  
THAT BOTH INDIA AND THE USA ARE "OPEN SOCIETIES AND  
EXPOSED TO THOSE HAZARDS THAT CHARACTERIZE FREE AND  
OPEN SOCIETIES" AND HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWS AND  
APPROACHES TO ISSUES BUT THESE DIFFERENCES ARE  
DISCUSSED WITH A "TOTAL LACK OF RANCOUR."

6. RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. VAJPAYEE NOTED A  
"GREATER BALANCE AND SOBRIETY" IN RELATIONS WITH  
THE BIG POWERS AND POINTED TO THE DESAI RECEPTION  
IN MOSCOW AS A "VIVID DEMONSTRATION OF THE CONTINUING  
FRIENDSHIP AND TRUST" BETWEEN THE USSR AND INDIA AND  
EVIDENCE THAT A "PRINCIPLED RELATIONSHIP IS NOT  
SUBORDINATE TO THE TWISTS IN THE FORTUNES OF A  
POLITICAL PARTY OR THE WHIMS AND FATE OF AN INDIVIDUAL."

7. RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. VAJPAYEE NOTED THE  
IMPROVEMENT IN TIES BUT SAID THAT IT WOULD BE  
"UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT FULL NORMALIZATION OR  
FRIENDSHIP CAN BE RESTORED" WHILE MAJOR PROBLEMS  
REMAIN. INDIA DESIRES TO "RESOLVE ALL MAJOR ISSUES  
PEACEFULLY THROUGH BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND WE  
BELIEVE THIS IS THE DESIRE OF THE CHINESE LEADERS  
ALSO."

8. VAJPAYEE'S SPEECH IS BEING POUCHED AS A-121.  
GOHEEN

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Concepts:** SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
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**Draft Date:** 17 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Review Markings:**  
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